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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 22 September 1993, at 3.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. Taylhardat	(Venezuela)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. HICKS

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93-86581 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SUBMITTED IN PURSUANCE OF PARAGRAPH 18 OF RESOLUTION 814 (1993) (S/26317)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia, in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraph 18 of resolution 814 (1993), document S/26317.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26476, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. I should like to draw attention to the following revision to be made in the draft resolution contained in document S/26476 in its provisional form: in paragraph 12, the words "and utilize" should be inserted after the word "maintain".

(The President)

I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/26412, letter dated 7 September 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/26481, letter dated 20 September 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Eritrea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): My delegation would like to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his latest report on Somalia and for the untiring efforts of his Special Representative and other United Nations personnel in their devotion and sacrifices under such threatening and difficult circumstances. We are certain this will serve for some time as a landmark of commitment to the cause of a people and the call of duty.

The draft resolution before us, which we fully support, calls for redoubling efforts to re-establish the police, judicial and penal systems of Somalia. Taken together with the report of the Secretary-General (S/26317) submitted in pursuance of paragraph 18 of resolution 814 (1993), by which the Secretary-General was to keep us informed of developments in the security situation in Somalia, we have a comprehensive and informative description of the situation in that country. Both underscore the fact that Somalia's rehabilitation will require a multipronged approach, covering many fronts simultaneously. However, little of lasting substance will be achieved unless the threat of violence is removed, for which purpose law enforcement and judicial mechanisms must be developed to provide a secure environment for long-term social, economic and political activity to take place.

We are pleased to note the continuing resolve of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) to maintain rapid disarmament as a leading

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

priority and to focus on the removal of mines. That the overall situation in Somalia continues to be stabilized is worthy of note.

We are pleased to see that implementation of the comprehensive peace accords signed in Addis Ababa is steadily under way. That so many ordinary Somalis from the grass roots are involved in this process of deciding on so wide a range of issues and setting up a rudimentary mechanism which may eventually lead to the formation of a transitional authority is to be admired. We see that a transitional national council is intended to serve as the prime political authority during the two-year transition period, supported by a structure of regional and district councils.

For this reason, it is regrettable that the events transpiring in Mogadishu - in fact in one section of that city - have so captured the headlines and thereby distorted the impressive nature of Somalia's steady return to normalcy. Certainly, under any circumstances the loss of human life, civilian or official, is to be deplored and regretted. In fact, every step must continue to be taken to see that such tragedies are as infrequent as possible, within the context of the United Nations accomplishing its mandate. And it does seem that the United Nations is accomplishing its mission. A nation, a non-State, is being resurrected and, with the completion of its task visible on the horizon, the United Nations must make every effort and leave no stone unturned to complete its mission. At this juncture, anything less would have devastating implications and fallout for the United Nations and the people of Somalia.

We believe the combined impact of these developments demonstrates the resolve of the United Nations to re-institutionalize the democratic voice and participation of the Somali people in their own governance and the high priority the United Nations accords this goal. So many concrete steps taken at so many levels would not be possible without genuine progress in political reconciliation. In fact, it is our understanding that inter-clan hostilities have all but ceased and inter-clan meetings of note on various issues have taken place.

We are also pleased at the broad participation and work of the Transitional Charter Drafting Committee, which completed its work in June this year, and that of the cease-fire and disarmament committee.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

We have examined the Secretary-General's outline of the status of the 1993 relief and rehabilitation programme, including the March meeting of donor nations, the United Nations relief agencies and representatives of the Somali people themselves. The broad and comprehensive approach of this programme - covering projects of employment, food distribution, continuing emergency relief operations, resettlement, social services such as schools and health services, the resuscitation of trade and commerce, the media and public outreach - speaks of the United Nations participation and the broad nature of Somalia's requirements.

Very little of this programme will have any lasting significance, of course, unless, as the Secretary-General indicates, serious attention is given to security matters, such as police, penal institutions and a functioning judiciary. The consideration, in the report, of the gamut of issues - training, equipping, paying, selecting, codifying, instilling pride and professionalism, and the manner in which intimidation is to be dealt with - is encouraging. The budgeted total of $45 million seems to be a reasonable cost for such a large task for the first year, covering outlays for police, penal and judicial matters.

We also support the reference in the draft resolution to the Secretary-General's intention to convene, as soon as possible, a meeting of Member States interested in supporting UNOSOM II in the re-establishment of Somalia's police, judicial and penal systems. The need for training, facilities, technical assistance, staffing and expertise remains, and such a meeting could focus efforts and resources on areas of high priority. Funds are, of course, urgently needed, and this meeting and its follow-up, pursuant to the fund established under resolution 794 (1992) and maintained in resolution 814 (1993) for the purpose of receiving contributions to be used for the police, judicial and penal systems, must continue to be supported by Member States as an urgent matter. This draft resolution highlights these needs.

Similarly, as requested also in the draft resolution, it would be helpful to all concerned to have from the Secretary-General a detailed plan covering the future strategy of UNOSOM II with regard to its humanitarian, political and security activities.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

The rehabilitation of Somalia under the United Nations has apparently begun. We are pleased to see that the widespread participation of all Somalis is envisioned and is, in fact, taking place, and that a reasonable transition period is contemplated so that leadership can be developed, security implanted, and systems put together. Both the United Nations and the Somali people require our continued support if we are to achieve success, and my delegation hopes that this support will be consistently forthcoming. We should not falter or waver at the eleventh hour because of the opposition of one lone warlord or for other reasons. We must complete our mission, because success seems at hand, and with it the return of one of our Members to the family of nations. Perhaps that is the true purpose of our Charter.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): In order to end the tragic war in Somalia, alleviate the sufferings of the Somali people, create a safe environment for the humanitarian relief endeavour and establish national reconciliation and lasting peace, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Arab League have made unswerving efforts which have helped to restore stability in most parts of Somalia outside Mogadishu. However, we have noted that there still exist many unstable elements in Somalia, particularly in Mogadishu, where there have been repeated occurrences of bloodshed and clashes, bringing increasing casualties to both United Nations personnel and Somali civilians. All this cannot but cause us deep concern.

We always hold that no matter how complicated the situation, a genuine solution can be achieved only through dialogue and negotiation. Otherwise, the efforts will go astray. As to how better to implement the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), we maintain that the opinions of the parties concerned and, in particular, those of the African countries, OAU and the Arab League should be solicited as widely as possible.

The main thrust of a series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council on Somalia is to promote the peace process initiated by the Agreement of Addis Ababa, to realize genuine national reconciliation and to restore peace and stability in Somalia so that the Somali people can embark on the road of reconciliation and economic revitalization. The recommendations of the Secretary-General for the establishment of Somali police and judicial and penal systems will serve to create the necessary conditions for the promotion of national reconciliation in Somalia. We therefore support these recommendations.

The final solution to the Somali question must be sought by the Somali people themselves. We urge all the Somali parties to implement earnestly the relevant Security Council resolutions, cease forthwith all military actions and cooperate with UNOSOM II so as to create conditions for an early political solution to the Somali question. The draft resolution before us has basically reflected the above-mentioned spirit. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of it.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26476, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 865 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his excellent report, document S/26317, and also wishes to pay a particular tribute to his Special Representative, Admiral Jonathan Howe, who is with us today, and with whom we have had the opportunity of a most useful exchange of views.

Among the countries participating in the United Nations operation in Somalia, Pakistan has paid the heaviest price in terms of human life. We had agreed to send our young men to Somalia because we believed in the purpose of the noble cause being pursued by the international community through the United Nations, and because of our commitment to United Nations efforts at peace-keeping.

In dispatching its troops under the emblem of the United Nations, the Pakistan Government had no motive other than to help bring peace to this troubled land. Indeed, in view of our long-standing fraternal relations with Somalia, we were confident that our soldiers would be treated as friends and messengers of peace and hope by every Somali. Despite the tragic incidents that have taken place since 5 June 1993, in which our troops have been targeted by the supporters of a ruthless warlord who expects to lose ground in a democratic and stable Somalia, we remain convinced that an overwhelming majority of Somalis still regard Pakistan as a friend who has come to their help whenever required.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

In spite of the rather unfortunate coverage that the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) has lately received in the media, we remain steadfast in our support for the United Nations involvement in Somalia as well as the objectives of the United Nations endeavour. The Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army, General Abdul Waheed, who recently visited Somalia, once again reiterated Pakistan's resolve to retain its forces at the disposal of the United Nations for the duration of the mandate. Indeed, it is only because of the dedicated efforts of UNOSOM II personnel as well as of other multilateral bodies and non-governmental organizations that the overall situation in Somalia today is infinitely better than it was around this time last year. Death by starvation has disappeared. Yet only a year ago hundreds of thousands perished from starvation and gunfire. Educational institutions which had been closed for so long have begun to function. Hundreds of thousands of Somali adults and children have been immunized against diseases which were endemic in that country. Somali agriculture, which was devastated, is returning to normal and the last harvest was very good. The prospects for the coming harvest are said to be even better. There are encouraging signs of recovery of economic and commercial activity. Restoration of the Somali infrastructure, which has suffered seriously, will take years and will require the continuing commitment of donor countries.

It is important that while assessing the situation in Somalia we look at the overall picture rather than focus only on South Mogadishu, which is merely a miniscule part of the country. No doubt the volatile situation in South Mogadishu as well as the criminal acts and intransigence of Aidid and his supporters, have harmed the Somali reconciliation process. But it should be remembered that Aidid is merely an impediment to this process, the success of which serves proportionately to diminish the warlord's capability for oppression and robbery. We are therefore confident that by not losing sight of the ultimate objective and by pursuing it with determination, the United Nations can help the Somalis to restore national institutions, democracy, and law and order in their country.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

We fully support the resolution that the Council has just adopted. The highest priority, without any question, should be attached to the return of normalcy in Somalia. Political reconciliation and a national consensus on a free and democratic Somalia are essential in this regard. The establishment of a national police force and judicial and penal systems are no less significant. It is equally important that local and regional representative institutions be established, leading to the election of a national Somali legislature.

In Somalia the United Nations, and specifically UNOSOM II, is engaged in a unique effort aimed at the rebuilding of a nation. The enormous scope and complexity of this task, or the difficulties in its way, cannot be overemphasized. It is therefore important that those in charge of the operation have both our understanding and our support. Indeed, in view of the novelty of the United Nations operation in Somalia, we have learned as we proceeded. It is our earnest desire that efforts to restore the Somali polity will proceed without too many problems and that the Somali people will soon be able to take its rightful place once again in the world as a sovereign, proud and democratic nation.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The development of the situation in Somalia is being followed with continuing interest in France. Humanitarian intervention in this country, where severe starvation is raging, has elicited positive and rapid mobilization from the international community. France, together with numerous other countries, has immediately answered the appeal of the Secretary-General and more than a thousand of its soldiers today are making a contribution to the restoration of peace to the Baidoa region.

Today famine has been abolished. This success is indisputably a credit to this operation, a success which cannot be negated by the images of violence which come to us from Mogadishu. The country is beginning once again to find a certain stability, while debate in political institutions is being reborn thanks

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

to the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the team of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). In this framework also is the establishment of a Somalian police and justice system through the means provided for in this resolution.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

It should, however, be emphasized that this country will not return to the path of peace and democracy as long as in certain parts of the country heavily armed factions continue their reign of terror and persist in attacking, in the name of purely selfish interests, United Nations soldiers who have come to that country to carry out a mission of peace. It is clear that in this context UNOSOM soldiers must be able to fulfil the mandate entrusted to them.

It is also fitting to recall that the long-term objective of the United Nations in Somalia was a fundamentally political and humanitarian one: the United Nations intervened to re-establish peace and democracy in Somalia and to assist in that country's reconstruction. It seems to us that today the time has come to relaunch the process of national reconciliation and to take the initiative in bringing all Somalis together around a political plan. The role of the United Nations will remain misunderstood and incomplete as long as such an initiative is not implemented.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I should like to follow the Ambassador of Pakistan in welcoming very much the presence among us today of Admiral Howe, the Secretary-General's Special Representative. I think it is of the very greatest value for us to have had the benefit of his counsel and his willingness to discuss all the sensitive aspects of this operation with us, and I should like to simply convey to him the very firmest support and the best wishes of my Government as he returns now to his very difficult task.

My Government expresses its profound regret and its deepest sympathy to the families and to the Governments of all those who have lost their lives in Somalia, and that, of course, goes also for those Somalis who have died. We condemn all attacks on United Nations personnel, and we believe it is absolutely imperative that those responsible for such attacks should be brought to justice.

We fully recognize the dangers and the difficulties which UNOSOM faces in Mogadishu, but we believe it essential that law and order be restored there and that the disarmament of all the Somali factions should take place so that national reconciliation and rehabilitation, which are the fundamental objectives of the United Nations presence in Somalia, should proceed. We feel that it would be a tragedy if the United Nations were to fail in this task, and we, for our part, support its efforts to persevere.

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

We welcome the progress that has been made in taking forward the political process and in resolving the immediate humanitarian-relief needs. But we underline that longer-term rehabilitation and reconstruction activities must be given clear and prioritized planning together with realistic goals, and that they must go hand in hand with a serious and sustained effort towards political reconciliation on the basis of the agreements reached in the Addis Ababa Conference. It is essential to build on the gains that have been made and that progress in other parts of the country not be held back by the events in southern Mogadishu.

In this context, the re-establishment of the police and the judiciary and a proper penal system, which is one of the objects of the resolution we have just adopted, clearly has a crucial role to play if we are going to be able to hand over, as we must do, the running of this country to the Somali people and their representatives, and if we are to do so in conditions of stability.

The current plans are good ones, but they need further working out if this goal is to be achieved on a basis that will be sustainable even without the presence of the United Nations, and therefore the fullest possible involvement of Somalis at all levels - in the police, in the judiciary and in the penal system - must be a high priority.

Above all, we would like to applaud the efforts of African countries and their organizations in the work they have done to support the re-emergence of a civil society in Somalia, and we would like to encourage African countries to continue with these efforts. In this context, we have particularly in mind the countries represented on the Horn of Africa Standing Committee of the Organization of African Unity, who we believe have a serious and important contribution to make.

We express the hope that all Somali people will work together with UNOSOM, with the United Nations agencies and with the devoted efforts of the non-governmental organizations that are labouring in Somalia under very difficult conditions and that a coordinated effort will now be continued to rebuild the country.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): My delegation wishes to commend the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Admiral Howe, and all the personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for their commitment to improving the situation in Somalia.

Working in a difficult and dangerous environment, UNOSOM has achievements to its credit, especially in the area of nation-building. My Government attaches great importance to the political aspect of UNOSOM's activities and therefore welcomes the resolution we have just adopted. It supports the requests that the Secretary-General redouble his efforts to promote the process of national reconciliation and political settlement.

Japan recognizes that it may be necessary to launch a new initiative to expedite the reconciliation process so that a National Council and eventually a stable and democratic Government can be established in Somalia.

The re-establishment of a Somali police force, as well as a judicial and penal system, is critical to the restoration of security and stability in the country and also to the process of nation-building. Japan believes that every effort must be made to re-establish the Somali police force and is thus gratified that now, with this resolution, the Secretary-General's recommendation in this regard will be implemented on an urgent and accelerated basis.

In closing, I should like to call upon all Somali parties to mobilize the political will to achieve reconciliation and restore peace and security to their own country. Japan will continue to join the international community in its continuing commitment to help Somalia, but it is the people of Somalia who bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary welcomes the adoption of this new resolution on Somalia, which results from some of the present tasks of national reconstruction and from the challenges arising from the continuing violence in the southern regions of the capital of Somalia.

Somalia has added to the arsenal of the international community's experience difficult and weighty lessons in human sacrifice. We are convinced that the United Nations will emerge strengthened from the period it is now experiencing in Somalia if it is able to draw the appropriate conclusions as

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

concerns the conduct of peace-keeping operations, the other international activities there, and the media aspects of its presence in the country.

Today's resolution will no doubt contribute to clarifying certain basic facts of the situation in Somalia by recalling the ongoing improvement in the general circumstances throughout the country and by pointing out the beneficial effects that such improvement has already had for the Somali people.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

Given conditions in Somalia, we must not underestimate this great achievement of international action. To meet the objectives set forth by the United Nations, it is critical that order and security be restored throughout the country without exception. To carry out this huge and complex task, recourse must continue to be had, in a consistent manner, to the mandate and means which the Security Council has agreed in this matter. From that perspective, the clear references to Security Council resolution 814 (1993) in the resolution we have just adopted seem most appropriate to us, since it is precisely the provisions of that resolution that form the basis of our action in Somalia.

We believe that it is important to persevere in our efforts to get the country moving again simultaneously in all the directions indicated in our resolutions - in the military field as well as in the political, humanitarian, economic and other areas. Ongoing dialogue with parties in Somali society is crucial, and it must accompany these efforts. It is clear that the priority objective of re-establishing normal conditions in all sectors of the country is the restoration of security and stability in Somalia. In that context, beyond the disarmament operations, the rebuilding of the Somali police force and the re-establishment of the country's judicial and penal systems are essential. It should also be noted that, in the final analysis, it is up to the Somalis themselves to be responsible for the national reconciliation and reconstruction of their own country.

There has been increased interest in international public opinion in the continuing armed attacks against UNOSOM II personnel. These attacks are criminal acts. Resolution 865 (1993) is unequivocal in its condemnation of these actions and in its reaffirmation of the individual responsibility of those who, regardless of rank, status or position, perpetrate or order such criminal acts. The way in which the international community acts in this matter is likely to have repercussions on other similar processes affecting other conflict situations.

Mr. HICKS (United States of America): My delegation would like to join other speakers in recognizing Admiral Howe for his outstanding work in Somalia.

Today the Council has taken a most important action with regard to the United Nations Operation in Somalia. The resolution we have adopted does two crucial things. First, it sets out in clear, unambiguous terms that the United Nations principal goal in Somalia is to bring about political reconciliation in that long-suffering country. My Government has always seen the United Nations mission in Somalia as political in nature, helping the Somali people to re-establish their political structures and democratic institutions. Nothing is more important in Somalia than this political goal.

The other critical step we have taken today is to lend support to the basic building-blocks of new political institutions: a police, judiciary and penal system. The police are the safeguard of the lives and property of all citizens in a civilized society. With the establishment of a strong, effective Somali police force, supported and overseen by a functioning judicial system, the Somali people will be free to take up again their normal lives, free from intimidation by the gunmen who brought starvation to this land.

As Admiral Howe pointed out, the United Nations Operation in Somalia has accomplished a great deal in Somalia. Only a year ago, hundreds of thousands were starving to death. Today starvation is gone and Somalia is on its way back. With this resolution, we provide vital tools to the recovery, reaffirming our clear direction for the political process and reinforcing the Somali institutions that can best protect and foster that process. We are pleased at the quick action that the Council has taken on this resolution, so necessary to giving an added impetus at this critical juncture to the ongoing process of rebuilding Somalia's political institutions.

My Government is pleased to have supported this resolution and sees within its framework a bright promise of a reconciled Somalia standing proud among its fellow nations of the world.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): No one is unaware of the difficulties in Somalia. The Brazilian Government pays tribute to the dedicated efforts of all personnel and commanders of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), who are working in difficult circumstances and have been the victims of hostilities and armed attacks, in many cases with considerable casualties. We fully support the work of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Admiral Jonathan Howe.

We wish to express our heartfelt condolences to the Governments and the families of those who have lost their lives in Somalia. The efforts of the members of UNOSOM II and their dedication to the goals of the United Nations will not be forgotten.

The outrageous attacks perpetrated against UNOSOM II have already been strongly condemned by the Security Council. It is appropriate that we reiterate that condemnation and that the Council send a strong signal to all Somali parties involved in those unconscionable attacks. All such acts must cease immediately and those responsible for them must be held accountable.

We continue to be seriously concerned about the situation in Somalia and about the need for a clear conceptual framework on how best UNOSOM II can contribute to improving that situation. Through their efforts to overcome the combined problems of poverty and factional strife, which have taken such a tragic toll in innocent lives, the people of Somalia are writing a dramatic chapter of African and world history. It is our sincere hope that this chapter will soon be closed and that the Somali people will get their well-deserved chance for peace, justice and development. They deserve our full solidarity in this endeavour.

Well aware as we are of the ongoing difficulties, it is gratifying to note the information provided by the Secretary-General on the improvement of certain important aspects of the situation in Somalia. Considerable progress has been achieved in addressing some of the most pressing humanitarian tasks, such as those related to basic health and nutritional needs. Significant steps have been and are being taken in the political field towards the implementation of the Addis Ababa agreement. In various parts of the country, there are signs of a resumption of social services and economic activities, which are essential for

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

creating the infrastructure for future development and self-reliance. A great deal of hard work will continue to be required in all those areas, but the signs of progress are indeed encouraging and should no doubt be put to the credit of UNOSOM II and the Somali people. We are also indebted to the African countries that have been contributing to this effort.

A lot remains to be done to achieve the goals of national reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia. The measures decided upon today by the Security Council in adopting resolution 865 (1993) are important additional steps in this regard. In particular, the approval of measures aimed at re-establishing law-enforcement and judicial institutions brings an essential element by strengthening the endogenous capacity of the Somali people themselves effectively to tackle their problems, most notably in the field of security and in building a society based on the rule of law.

The adoption of this resolution gives additional proof of the commitment of the United Nations to continue to work in Somalia with a view to the restoration of normal conditions of life in that country. The complexity of the situation in Somalia and the many new challenges facing United Nations operations there have often been emphasized. The United Nations is breaking new ground in Somalia in an innovative and necessary undertaking aimed at bringing peace, security and a better life to the people of Somalia. This is a wide-ranging political undertaking that cannot be mistaken for any of its particular components.

As stated in resolution 865 (1993), the highest priority is placed on the efforts to promote national reconciliation and the re-establishment of national institutions and civil administration throughout the entire territory of Somalia. As a member of the Council, Brazil will continue to follow closely developments related to Somalia and the operations of UNOSOM II and will continue to give its support to carefully designed actions that can further that goal.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): From the very beginning of the international community's implementation of the operations to render assistance to the population of Somalia, the Russian Federation has continually favoured the speedy stabilization of the situation, a political settlement and national reconciliation in that country.

We note with satisfaction that the situation in the majority of the country's regions is improving. This is allowing the Somali people to return to normal life. As the Secretary-General's report (S/26317) points out, starvation has for the most part been eliminated; the programme for substantive improvement of food distribution and mass immunization of children is being carried out; and schools are being opened in an ongoing process. A number of regional councils have been established, which are the basis for the restoration of statehood and self-government in the country.

As is indicated in resolution 865 (1993), which was just adopted by the Security Council, the highest priority task of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) is to support the Somali people in carrying out the process of national reconciliation, and to advance and accelerate the restoration of regional and national institutions and civilian administration throughout the country.

We are grateful to all of the personnel of UNOSOM II, and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Admiral Howe, for their unswerving efforts in this area. At the same time, we fully agree with the provision of the Secretary-General's report which states that in order for peace and security to be established in Somalia all armed units must be disarmed. In this respect, we firmly condemn and consider inadmissible a situation in which peace-keeping contingents of the international community, whose mission is to promote the stabilization of the situation in that country, national reconciliation and the restoration of statehood, are becoming the target of armed attacks.

We express our condolences to the Governments and families of the soldiers and officers of UNOSOM II who have given their lives in Somalia. The Russian delegation believes that the incidents which have taken place in the southern part of Mogadishu should not be an obstacle to the implementation of the agreement achieved at the Conference on National Reconciliation in Addis Ababa. We consider important the appeal contained in resolution 865 (1993) to all

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Member States to join with regional organizations in rendering assistance - by all possible means, including the mass media - to the Secretary-General in his efforts to reconcile the parties and re-establish political institutions in Somalia.

Resolution 865 (1993), just adopted, notes that the re-establishment of the Somali police and of the judicial and penal system is important for the restoration of security and stability in Somalia. At the same time, as regards the financial aspects of carrying out those objectives, the Russian delegation believes that the appeal in paragraph 14 of the resolution to the Secretary-General to undertake the necessary steps to ensure continuation of the present programme for the establishment of the police, judicial and penal system during the period from October to the end of December 1993, before additional funds are forthcoming from Member States, does not mean that those steps will be carried out through the budget for United Nations operations in Somalia. Expenditures for those specific objectives cannot be covered by the budget of our Organization.

The Russian Federation is ready to interact with the United Nations and with all States, and to work within the context of regional efforts, for the speedy restoration of peace, stability, law and order, which will create the necessary conditions for a national reconciliation and a political settlement in Somalia.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): With the adoption of resolution 865 (1993), the Security Council once again underscores the firm commitment of the United Nations to help the Somali people bring about national reconciliation and return to a normal national life, with the gradual restoration of their institutions and the public services that are essential to the community.

The Secretary-General's report of 17 August 1993, and the oral reports the members of the Council have had occasion to hear - the latest of those this very morning from the Special Representation of the Secretary-General, Admiral Howe -

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

show that the work the United Nations is carrying out in Somalia is largely a little-known story of concrete achievements and substantial progress in the direction we had laid down.

The joint efforts of UNOSOM and other United Nations bodies have made it possible, inter alia, to virtually eradicate famine in the country; schools are again opening their doors now, after four years without any classes; a large portion of the country's children have been vaccinated; and we are now tackling and resolving its principal health problems. From an economic and social perspective, moreover, a good portion of the population are returning to their lands, and agriculture, livestock rearing and trade are all being revitalized.

These achievements have their counterparts in the political field as well. As provided for in the Addis Ababa Agreement, the gradual formation of district councils will be the first step towards the creation of regional councils and the future establishment of a Transitional National Council, all of which will lay the foundation for the restoration of state institutions in Somalia. We are convinced that the majority of the Somali people have the political will to achieve speedy national reconciliation, as is evinced by all of these achievements.

We must stress that the problems in Somalia can ultimately be overcome only by the efforts of the Somalis themselves, bearing in mind, naturally, that all the groups, factions and parties must be given their say, and only those whose actions have proven that they are outlaws should be barred from the process. This effort must be carried out by the Somalis themselves, with the support and assistance of the international community: the United Nations, but also the neighbouring countries, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is exceedingly important that the Somalis be able to count on this support and assistance of the international community.

We must regret, however, that United Nations forces in Somalia have been harassed by one of the Somali factions, which stands in the way of their work and undermines any chance of dialogue. We would like to emphasize the full validity of UNOSOM II's actions to promote the fulfilment of the goals set down by the Security Council. We would also like to pay tribute here to all those

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

who have given their lives in the service of this noble cause. At the same time, we would like to highlight and pay tribute to the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Admiral Howe, and of the entire personnel of UNOSOM II, who have carried out their task under difficult circumstances and have shown great fortitude and determination.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

The resolution that we have adopted today stresses the need to restore, swiftly, certain institutions and essential public services, such as the police and the judicial and penal systems, in Somalia, to make it easier for the people of Somalia soon to control their own destiny, and to speed that process. This will help the political reconciliation now in progress, through which Somalia must rebuild its institutions as soon as possible so that it can become a free, democratic and fully sovereign country by 1995 at the latest.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): In casting our vote in favour of this resolution, New Zealand reaffirms its wholehearted support for the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and the United Nations mission in Somalia. We greatly appreciated Admiral Howe's presence with us today, and the insights that he has given the Council.

It is now 10 months since the first New Zealand contingent was deployed in Somalia, with UNOSOM I. Since then, we have made military contributions to the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) and to UNOSOM II. Furthermore, the Government and the people of New Zealand have responded with humanitarian assistance to relieve the tragedy that existed in Somalia only a year ago.

My delegation believes that real progress has been achieved in improving humanitarian conditions throughout Somalia. We welcome this development most warmly. Thousands of human beings are alive today in Somalia who would have succumbed to famine and anarchy. The United Nations, the courageous United Nations personnel in the field and the Governments that have supported the United Nations can take justified credit for this achievement.

We believe that it is important to stress the positive developments that are taking place in Somalia. We hear much in the media of the clashes occurring in the southern part of Mogadishu, but this must not detract from the very real progress being made elsewhere in the country.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the United Nations, great improvements have also been made in the second objective established by the Security Council when it established the UNOSOM II mandate: the political reconstruction of Somalia. District councils are being established, schools are opening and local institutions for law and order are being rebuilt. My delegation is much encouraged by these positive elements.

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

It is clear that the international community will need to remain committed over the long term to ensure Somalia's political and economic reconstruction.

The attacks on United Nations personnel in southern Mogadishu remain a cause for grave concern. My delegation is dismayed by the criminal activities of one Somali faction which is attacking United Nations peace-keepers. This faction was a signatory to the Addis Ababa agreement, which invited the United Nations to extend all assistance to the people of Somalia for the implementation of the agreement, including the disarmament of the various factions.

We condemn the refusal of those leaders whose actions have resulted in further deaths and in disruption to the humanitarian mission. In this regard, my delegation extends its sincere condolences to all those families and countries that have suffered casualties and loss of life.

My delegation is pleased that this resolution unequivocally condemns all attacks on UNOSOM II personnel. We welcome the reaffirmation by the Council that those who have committed or ordered the commission of such criminal acts will be held individually responsible for them, for it is clear that the perpetrators of such crimes will not desist unless the consequences of their actions are made clear.

This situation is intolerable and requires urgent rectification. The issue of the safety and security of United Nations personnel is one which the New Zealand delegation will be vigorously pursuing at this year's session of the General Assembly.

There are many who say that the difficulties that UNOSOM II has encountered in southern Mogadishu mean that the United Nations has lost its way and that the Security Council should review the mandate. We do not share that view. It is unduly influenced by images on television screens; it does not take adequately into account that the Council has all along seen the primary objective of UNOSOM as the humanitarian mission and the reconstruction of political institutions in Somalia.

But my delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General that the achievement of the humanitarian objectives of UNOSOM II are indeed jeopardized without restoration of law and order in Somalia generally and Mogadishu in particular. That said, we welcome the emphasis placed in the present resolution

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

on the priority of making progress in political reconciliation and the reformation of the Somali police and judicial systems. We are heartened to note in the resolution the restatement of the goals of the United Nations in Somalia. Indeed, the ultimate goal of the United Nations operation is a political one: to assist the people of Somalia in the furtherance of national reconciliation and to promote and advance the re-establishment of regional and national institutions, and civil administration, throughout the country.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.